1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

834 [831] organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young [514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

602 835 The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together. Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

582 835 Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relationships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 602 835 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry. The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as [553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

[605] I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

● 514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/22 cont./

(81)
648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

(514) The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoulder. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

514 women sometimes do this, but Bushman men crouch to urinate. "It is our law," they say.

264 222 While the women rested they had refreshed themselves with one of Twikwe's melons which Twikwe chopped for them by holding the melon between the soles of both feet and mashing its pulp with her digging-stick, which she held in both hands. Then they got up from their grass nest, sharpened their digging-sticks with Twikwe's knife, and set out to begin the search for food. They each chose a different direction and soon they were out of sight. I followed Twikwe to see 222 481 what she would find, hurrying to keep up as she trampled ahead of me on those spindly, awkward legs of hers, which she kicked out with each step in a walk like the walk of a clown. She kept her back straight, for it was still early and the load in her kaross was light.

222 As I could not speak many words of Gikwe, she didn't even try to talk, but paused from time to time instead to show me things. Once she crouched among the branches of a thorn bush and beckoned to me to show me a tiny vine winding around the bush's trunk. I nodded. It marked an edible root. She pinched the base of the vine where there was a faint touch of green, then, grasping her digging-stick, began to dig. The ground was quite hard, but she dug rapidly, her slender back curved as she squatted over the hole and the muscles of her thin arms swelling. After a long time she threw down her digging-stick and tugged at something in the bottom of the hole. She sat back, and in her hands was a huge stone, which she heaved aside.

"Look," she said, and I crawled beside her into the bush. She had made a hole three feet deep, a foot across, and at the bottom, dim in shadow, lay an immense gray root wedged securely between two stones. "Ga," she said. She ripped the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most people were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down—edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said